/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion" 342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs 752 to the roof to prevent the ečˇ or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man, 789 from entering the house from there.

342 Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families. 476 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
● [462] least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers, as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to 342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing, 273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of 476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in [594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still [249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help, [461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house 335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /), [476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by [462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsˇínda) are erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/120 cont./
the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral support or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an untanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and the light construction of the walls with cracks between the individual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore, she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/123 cont./

291 177 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited 291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the 294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made 286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note- 177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven [462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con- 296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of [462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath. 296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never- 177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned, 462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondatc; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

291 294 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the average they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atç) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 462 293 415 291 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men, women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá). These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 294 286 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytől) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 476 464 [462] The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 417 The fence which each field must have for protection against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 [262] Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great importance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 [262] Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 434 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/139 cont./

273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ŏka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/146 cont./

726 [725] [177] [411] In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 726 773 628 411 191 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao.". For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but [462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one [857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is [223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun. [824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts [211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p. 279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 [462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the [114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v. [171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main [171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound, unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is 60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent it from drying out too much, which would make spinning difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as [236] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags, not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread 283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This ● 462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a special instrument, the klafica, with which the strongest ropes are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different for men and women. Depending on the material, the former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking with the klafica done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z, is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/150 cont./

283 To twist the thread, the women remove the spun thread from the spindle, after they have slipped off the freely movable spinning whorl at the bottom, then grasp it in the center, and, in a loop, again put it on the spindle. Then the thread, taken doubled in this way, is twisted with the right hand, while it is disentangled and guided with three fingers of the left hand (Ill. 180 /see p. 280 /). Here, too, a smaller piece is always first twisted onto the lower, smaller part of the spindle and only later wound on the longer, upper part.

b) Ropemaking

[462] The making of ropes is men's work. True, there is also a type of rope of agave fiber that is made by women (tãpe), but these ropes are plaited in the form of a threefold braid out of three strands and are therefore plaited work. Two-strand ropes of agave fiber (mémwez) of optional length are made with the same technique as the thin, twisted agave strings. For this the klaffca (from the Spanish clavicula?) is used, a lancet-shaped, flat piece of wood about 15 centimeters long, which has notching at one end and a round perforation below it (Fig. 26 /see p. 253 /). Through the latter a stick of equal length is inserted horizontally, one end of which shows a thickening which prevents the piece of wood from sliding off. Around the notching, the middle part of a hand-twisted thread is fastened, and then the piece of wood is made to rotate. The longer part, because of its noncentric perforation, acts as a flywheel mass. In turning, the thread fastened to it is twisted. For this work, of course, a helper is required to hold the other end of the thread or rope. Three-strand ropes (láso) may also be made by the klaffca. For this purpose the three tips of the three twined agave-strands are tied to the notching of the klaffca, and the instrument is then turned in the same manner. A helper takes care of the uniform twist and uniform strength of the rope. A lasso of horsehair (séltas), as a three-strand rope, is also made with the klaffca following to the method described. The individual strands are previously turned by hand, then twisted,

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
• [462] They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[824] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/176 cont./
623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
● 462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 462 513 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, therefore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man [684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing [623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a 583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ- 848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the [557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the [761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however, [851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period [178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself. [435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/200 cont./

461/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/205 cont./

578 [123] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be [177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462 857

	Men	Women	Children
Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

/206 cont./

•462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Harvesting yuca, cabbage, beans, gourds		x	
Harvesting sugar cane	x	(x)	
Hunting	x		
Fishing at the weir	x	x	
Gathering wild honey	x	x	x
Preparing food		x	
Making chicha and brandy	x	x	
Housebuilding	x		
Making fire with flint and steel	x		
Fetching firewood		x	
Fetching water		x	x
Carrying loads on marches	x	x	
Making weapons	x		
Making plaited hats	x		
Making hammocks	x		
Making rope	x		
Making musical instruments	x		
Making fireworks	x		
Making bird nets	x		
Making children's toys			x
Making clay vessels	x	x	
Making fiber bags		x	
Making coca bags		x	
Making wax candles	x	x	x

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[439] Ornaments	(bought)	(bought)	
Weaving, plait-weaving		x	
Dyeing		x	
Washing women's clothes and the men's woven clothes		x	
Washing the home-sewn men's trousers	x		
Mending woven clothing		x	
Mending men's trousers	x		

1: Nachtigall--214 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

P 533 [177] 534 C 533 534 [177]

/291 cont./

properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths. Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation pertaining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 [462]

The musicians are always men. They play the music as amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 [171]

The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 114

By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H. Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

000 /288 cont./

7756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
754 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (fiushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
●462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

● 462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/188 cont./

462 594 [257] from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her husband. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 183 The household lends individuality, a sociological framework, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 773 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

4:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC

/190 cont./
them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ũs), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
● [462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
● [462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

398 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

398 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal land.

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241
433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

● 462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

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462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic [241] activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men [178] and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes
Ceramics	yes or	yes

28. Rarely.

/344 cont./

●462

Activity	Men	Women
Making the fire		yes
Clearings	yes	
Planting, weeding, and harvesting	yes	yes
Gathering		yes (29)

[857]

29. Task of women and of children under six.

Trade	yes	yes
Hunting and fishing	yes	
Communal work	yes	
Mingas	yes	
Supplying firewood and water		yes
Ownership	yes	yes (30)

30. Rarely.

Carpentry	yes	
Making fireworks	yes	
Tending livestock	yes	
Barbering	yes	
Milling	yes	yes
Musical instruments	yes	
Consumption of coca	yes	yes
Consumption of alcohol	yes	yes
Consumption of tobacco	yes	yes

/345/

427

Tenant farmers of San Andrés

In the haciendas that lie above the valley of the Pisimbalá torrent and the left bank of the Ullucos River, some 35 native families live as tenant farmers. There are five haciendas that make use of this type of servitude. Many of these families have developed and become established within the hacienda itself. Others have been driven to this condition out of a lack of land from which to derive sustenance.

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
● 462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

?:Hernández de Alba F-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Pdez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market,
[292] they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Pdez* and *Moguez* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road.
[824] Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

283 **Cordage.**—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained.

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war.

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River.

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade.

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood.

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for

7:Hemández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Pdez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Pdez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Pdez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast [462] days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/181 cont./

162 583 595 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% practiced the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated, 581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the 594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the [585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way 594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear- 462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

8: Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

13. (cont.)
Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

In this manner, among the Paez, marriage, family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the reluctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.